1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine*, are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

Some rather lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a matapule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. Guns were used by this expedition.

Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.)

The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan accounts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauulufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*salulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern informants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chronologic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupoutoa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten.

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1810-1845]

a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka. 173 669 726

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka. 173 725 726 669

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard. But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties. [411] [411] [179]

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka, 173 728 669

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Fuatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaahau. Taufaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Meakaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion. 173 669 726

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngana (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace. [725] [411] [177]

Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana) of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called *laumalie* for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours, but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

114
291
342
411
137

Mr. MARINER in the COSTUME of the TONGA ISLANDS.

[facing p. iii].

London Published Feb.y 2. 1818. by J. Murray Albemarle Street.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows which before that period had been in use among the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, they speedily learned to construct bows and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in the practice of painting their faces, and the use of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the minds of their enemies. These martial improvements were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands. Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and indeed they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first dis-

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

build a large and strong fortress, and to put themselves in a state of defence against any incursions that Finow might make upon them, or, rather, which Toobó Toa might urge him to make.

The proposed fortress was to be the largest that ever was known in the Tonga islands, to be, in short, a fortified town, capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vavaoo (about 8000 in number), with their houses and burying-places, to be built round the Mooa*, and constructed, as usual, of reed fencings, much on the same plan as that of Nioocalofa, formerly described, but to be surrounded by a deep and firm-set bank of solid clay, about twelve feet high, with a ditch on the inner side of it, from which the clay would be furnished, and thus be proof against the guns: within this ditch, and next the fencing, was to be another bank of clay, smaller than the other. The whole of the materials of the fencing was to be proportionably strong and good.

Among a great deal of information which the old mataboole communicated, was that respecting the bravado of a Vavaoo warrior, who declared his utter contempt of the guns. It is customary for every professed warrior, before

* The chiefs' houses are generally situated together, and this place is called the Mooa, the metropolis of the island.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

he goes to battle, or expects the coming of an enemy, to give himself the name of some one particular person, whom he means to single out and fight. This warrior, however, instead of assuming the name of one of the enemy, proudly called himself Fanna Fonnooa (a great gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to a cannon and throw his spear into the mouth of it.

When Finow was informed of these proceedings of the Vavaoo people, he immediately resolved to make a descent upon them with a powerful force, and reduce them into subjection before they could have completed their designs: but the priests dissuaded him from this hasty project, and proposed, that it would be much more acceptable to the gods to make, in the first place, an offer of reconciliation. The king, however, had not much respect for the priests, and though he sometimes conformed with their advice, it was generally because it tallied with his own opinion, or he did it for the mere outside shew of veneration for the gods: his want of religion was, indeed, almost proverbial, and, on this account, the people often wondered that he was so successful in war. In this particular instance he was so exasperated at the conduct of his aunt, that not the persuasion of the priests, nor the admoni-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

time is generally about a quarter of a mile. If, during the game, any one of either party see a fair shot at a bird, he may take aim at it; if he kill it, it counts the same as a rat, but whether he hit it or not, if he venture a shot, he changes place with the one behind him. Every now and then they stop and make a peculiar noise with the lips, like the squeaking of a rat, which frequently brings them out of the bushes, and they sit upright on their haunches, as if in the attitude of listening. If a rat is alarmed by their approach, and is running away, one or more cry out *too!* (stop!) with a sudden percussion of the tongue, and is a term used, we may suppose, on account of the sharp and sudden tone with which it may be pronounced. This has generally the effect of making the rat stop, when he sits up, and appears too much frightened to attempt his escape. When he is in the act of running away, the squeaking noise with the lips, instead of stopping him, would cause him to run faster. They frequently also use another sound, similar to what *we* use when we wish to answer in the affirmative without opening the lips, consisting in a sort of humming noise, sounding through the nostrils, but more loud, short, and sudden. The arrows used on these occasions are nearly six feet long, (the war-arrows being about three

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

feet,) made of reed, headed with iron-wood: they are not feathered, and their great length is requisite, that they may go straight enough to hit a small object; besides which, it is advantageous in taking an aim through a thick bush. Each individual in the party has only two arrows, for, as soon as he has discharged one from his bow, it is immediately brought to him by one of the attendants who follow the party. The bows also are rather longer than those used in war, being about six feet, the war-bows being about four feet and a half; nor are they so strong, lest the difficulty of bending them should occasion a slight trembling of the hand, which would render the aim less certain.

Finow and his friends having finished their shooting excursion, and taken some refreshment, directed their walk at random across the island, and arrived near a rock, noted by the natives as being (in their estimation) the immediate cause of the origin of all the Tonga islands. It happened once (before these islands were in existence) that one of their gods (Tangaloa) went out fishing with line and hook: it chanced, however, that the hook got fixed in a rock at the bottom of the sea, and, in consequence of the god pulling in his line, he drew up all the Tonga islands, which, they say, would have formed one great land; but the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

687 727 669 [784] part which this gentleman was appointed to act in the business, two or three no doubt would have been killed, and several wounded, in the attempt. It must be mentioned that Cacahoo, owing to his diseased appearance, was not present at the cava party after the *fono* (indeed, he was seldom present on any public occasion, except to fight:) it was resolved, therefore, that a young warrior, in company with Mr. Mariner and others, should go and present him with cava at his residence, as soon [411] 609 [237] as the above chiefs were seized. Mr. Mariner was to sit next to him, and was to ask him for his spear, as if to look at it from curiosity; for this spear was a remarkably good one, headed with the bones of the tail of the *fy*, (sting-ray,) and which he always carried about with him: Mr. Mariner could take this liberty better than any one else, as he was more or less acquainted with him; and being a foreigner, his curiosity would appear more plausible, and less subject to suspicion: having got it into his hands, he was to throw it away, and this was to be the signal for the seizure. Before Cacahoo had time to hear of what was going forward at Macave, the appointed party arrived at his house, and presented him cava. * Mr. Mariner took

[634] * Mr. Mariner was not, in many instances, a voluntary supporter of Finow's conduct: but as necessity has no law,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669
726
[411]

warriors. In the course of the following night, the enemy came down again, and made a desperate attack upon them: having resolved to burn the place to the ground, they had appointed four hundred men to effect their purpose, each of whom was armed with a spear, and a lighted torch fixed at about a foot from the point of it. At a signal every man threw his flaming weapon at the fencing, or into the garrison, and, by the aid of this new invention, the place was set fire to, in several points at once. The besieged, with the view of rendering themselves more secure, had removed all the draw-bridges over the dry ditch round the fencing, except one; there was no ready means of escape, therefore, from the conflagration, which soon spread far and wide, except by one narrow path: hundreds consequently were compelled to leap into the ditch, the sides of which were too steep to climb. Among these was Teoo Cava, who, with several other great chiefs and warriors, managed to get out, by climbing up the backs of those whose fidelity prompted them to lend their superiors this friendly assistance at the utmost peril of their own lives. Teoo Cava, having thus got out of the ditch, was making the best of his way unarmed to Hihifo, when he was met by a native of Fiji, belonging to the enemy's party, who

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 764 " in rank, and not like you, alas! great and " mighty in war!"

763 304 565 Such were their sentiments and conduct on this mournful occasion. Some, more violent than others, cut their heads to the skull with such strong and frequent blows, that they caused themselves to reel, producing afterwards a temporary loss of reason. It is difficult to say to what length this extravagance would have been carried, particularly by one old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr. Mariner to go up and take away the club from him, as well as two others that were engaged at the same time. It is customary on such occasions, when a man takes a club from another, to use it himself in the same way about his own head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was not expected to do this; he therefore went up, and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured the clubs, one after another, and returned with them to his seat, when, after a while, they were taken by others who used them in like manner.

634 764 After these savage expressions of sorrow had been continued for nearly three hours, the prince, having first signified his intentions to Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders that the body of his father should be taken to Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of *gnatoo* was put on a kind of hurdle, and the body laid on the bale: the prince then ordered that, as his father was the first who introduced guns in the wars of Tonga, the two carronades should be loaded and fired twice* before the procession set out, and twice after it had passed out of the *malái*; he gave directions also that the body of Finow's daughter, lately deceased, should be taken out of the *fytoca*, in the model of a canoe, and carried after the corpse of her father; that during his life as he wished always to have her body in his neighbourhood, she might now at length be buried with him. Matters being thus arranged, Mr. Mariner loaded the guns, and fired four times with blank cartridge. The procession then went forward; the wives of the deceased and women attendants proceeded first in silent sorrow, next followed the body of Finow, the body of his daughter, the matabooles, and lastly the young prince and his retinue. When the procession had got out of the fortress, (the *malái*, of which we are speaking, being in the middle of the fortress of Neafoo) and had passed the place where the

* It should be mentioned that the young prince had now in his possession only two carronades, the other two being at the Hapai islands with Toobo Toa. But then Toobo Toa had only half a barrel of gunpowder, and no iron shot, whereas the prince had seven or eight barrels, and a considerable number of balls.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

guns were drawn up, Mr. Mariner fired two more rounds, then loaded them with canister shot, lighted a match, to be in readiness in case of need, and ordered the guns to follow the procession, whilst he went last to see that they were properly drawn. It was not the prince's intention to order another salute, but he had previously told Mr. Mariner to load them again, not with blank cartridge but with shot, and to carry a lighted match in his hand, for, "perhaps," said he, "we may have need "of it." This, it may be easily seen, was a measure of policy; he ordered them to be fired that he might have a plea for carrying them in the procession along with him, and he ordered them to be loaded a third time, as if they were to be in readiness for another salute at the grave, but in fact for his own safeguard, lest certain chiefs should take the opportunity to revolt.

In the course of two hours they arrived at Felletoa, where the body was laid in a house on the *malái* at some distance from the grave, till another and smaller house could be brought close to it*; and this was done in the course

* The body is always placed in a house in front of the *fytoca* during the time the grave is digging: if there be no house near, a small one is immediately brought for the purpose, which, from the construction of their houses, is readily done by the aid of 50 or 60 men.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

rising off him, a violent blow in the face; on which Hala Api Api threw himself in a posture of defence, and demanded if he wished to box with him: Talo, without returning an answer, snatched a *tocco tocco**, and would evidently have run him through the body if he had not been withheld. Hala Api Api, with a nobleness of spirit worthy of admiration, seemed to take no notice of this, but smiling returned to his seat amid the acclamations of the whole assembly. All applauded his greatness of soul, as conspicuous now as on other occasions; Finow in particular shewed signs of much satisfaction; and in the evening, when he was drinking cava with the matabooles, whilst this noble chief had the honour to wait on them, the king addressed himself to him, returning thanks for the presence of mind which he had proved, and his coolness of temper; which conduct had placed his superiority and bravery in a far more splendid light than if he had given way to resentment: and as to his retiring, without seeking farther to prolong the quarrel, he was convinced (he said) that he had in view nothing but the peace and happiness of the people, which would undoubtedly have been disturbed by an open rupture with a man who was at the head of so pow-

* A spear about five feet long, used by them as a walking stick, but seldom employed in battle.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

pulse, which goads the mind on in the pursuit of knowledge, at whatever risk, and with whatsoever suffering. But we must leave this subject for the present, to take a farther view of the transactions on board.

The captain had a quantity of pearl oyster-shells, which are considered by the natives a very beautiful ornament, and very scarce among them, as those which they have are not capable of being so finely polished: these attracted Finow's fancy, which the captain observing, made him a present of several; but, however, he did not direct his attention to mere matters of ornament: he reflected that he had very few gunflints on shore; and he ventured, in a very modest manner, to ask the captain for a supply of an article that would be so useful to him* in defending his newly established kingdom of Vavaoo against the encroachments of the Hapai people; and the captain liberally complied with his request.

Mr. Mariner had on shore, in a concealed place, the journal of the Port au Prince, which he was now desirous of securing. The reader may here be reminded, that in the early part of Mr. Mariner's residence at these islands, the late king ordered him to give up his books and

* Finow knew the use of a musket exceedingly well, and was a very good shot.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

is employed in preparing and collecting the yams and other provisions, such as fish, cava root, and *mahoá*, and getting ready mats, *gnatoo*, and bundles of *mellecoola:* but the yams only are to be carried in the procession about to be described. 651 796

The sun has scarcely set when the sound of the conch begins again to echo through the island, increasing as the night advances. At the Mooa, and all the plantations, the voices of men and women are heard singing *Nófo ôooa tegger gnaoôe, ôooa gnaoôe,* Rest thou, doing no work; thou shalt not work. This increases till midnight, men generally singing the first part of the sentence, and the women the last, to produce a more pleasing effect: it then subsides for three or four hours, and again increases as the sun rises. Nobody, however, is seen stirring out in the public roads till about eight o'clock, when the people from all quarters of the island are seen advancing towards the Mooa, and canoes from all the other islands are landing their men; so that all the inhabitants of Tonga seem approaching by sea and land, singing and sounding the conch. At the Mooa itself the universal bustle of preparation is seen and heard; and the different processions entering from various quarters, of men and women, all dressed up in new *gnatoos*, ornamented with [202] 651 796 533 [202] 651 796 [292] [411]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 796 [292] [411] red ribbons and wreaths of flowers, and the men armed with spears and clubs, betoken the importance of the ceremony about to be performed. Each party brings in its yams in a basket, which is carried in the arms with great care, by the principal vassal of the chief to whom the plantation may belong. The baskets are deposited on the *malái* (in the *Mooa*), and some of the men begin to employ themselves in slinging the yams, each upon the centre of a pole about eight or nine feet long, and four inches diameter. The proceedings 651 are regulated by attending matabooles. The 796 yams being all slung, each pole is carried by 788 two men upon their shoulders, one walking be- 769 fore the other, and the yam hanging between them, ornamented with red ribbons. The procession begins to move towards the grave of the last Tooitonga (which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do), the men advancing in a single line, every two bearing a yam, with a slow and measured pace, sinking at every step, as if their burden were of immense weight*. In the mean time the chiefs and matabooles are seated in a semi-

* And as if meaning to express, "How bountiful are the "gods, to give us so good a harvest, and provide us with "yams so large and heavy!"

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tween the fifth and sixth ribs; not in a line directly below the nipple, but about an inch backwards. The arrow had broken off about three inches from the point *, under the third row of barbs, and from the rise and fall of the thorax in the act of respiration the whole piece was perfectly concealed from any external view: the barbs and the point were of the same piece with the rest of the head of the arrow.

A countryman of the wounded man wished to perform the operation, but the patient desired that a friend of his, a native of Vavaoo, should manage it: this proved that he placed at least equal confidence in his skill as in that of his countryman; indeed he had seen him perform the operation several times before, at the Fiji islands.

The patient was now lying on his back, but a little inclined to his left side; and this was considered a favourable posture for the operation. It was a fine clear day, and the weather warm: had it been rainy or cloudy, or had the patient felt himself cold, fires would have been lighted in the house, and a burning torch held to his side, to relax the integuments, and to

[411] * They are made thin under each barb, on purpose that they may break. The barbs of this arrow were about a quarter of an inch transverse diameter, and the stem of the arrow under each row of barbs about the eighth of an inch.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 " them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 " rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 " of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 " as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 " the drums and chorus, as before, went off.
" Three drums (which at least took two, and
" sometimes three men to carry them), were
" now brought in; and seventy men sat down,
[292] " as a chorus to the third dance. This con-
" sisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each,
" with young Toobou at their head, who was
" richly ornamented with a sort of garment
[293] " covered with red feathers. These danced,
" sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but
" in general much quicker, and performed so
" well, that they had the constant applauses of
" the spectators. A motion that met with par-
" ticular approbation was one in which they
" held the face aside as if ashamed, and the
" *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before
" the front one, and that again resumed its
" place, as in the two former dances; but then
" they began again, formed a triple row, divided,
" retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 " the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 " this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 " exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 " They did this by first twirling them in
411 " their hands, and making circular strokes be-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

" fore them with great force and quickness; 173
" but so skilfully managed, that, though stand- 648
" ing quite close, they never interfered. They 545
" shifted their clubs from hand to hand with 535
" great dexterity; and, after continuing a little 411
" time, kneeled, and made different motions,
" tossing the clubs up in the air, which they
" caught as they fell; and then went off as
" hastily as they entered. Their heads were [292]
" covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at
" the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a
" wreath of foliage round the forehead; but
" they had only very small pieces of white
" cloth tied about the waists; probably that
" they might be cool, and free from every in-
" cumbrance or weight*. A person with a
" spear, dressed like the former, then came in,
" and in the same hasty manner; looking about
" eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw
" it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the
" crowd in the front, and put himself in a
" threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike
" with his spear at one of them, bending the

* This exhibition with the clubs, as well as the following one with a spear, are practices of Hamoa (the Navigator's Islands), at which the natives of that place are said to be very expert: they are occasionally adopted at Tonga by way of interludes, but they do not form an essential part of the above performance: the particular dress which these performers had on was the war dress of the Hamoa Islands. [177]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 "knee a little, and trembling, as it were, with
648 "rage. He continued in this manner only a
545 "few seconds, when he moved to the other
535 "side, and having stood in the same posture
[411] "there, for the same short time, retreated from
"the ground as fast as when he made his ap-
"pearance. The dancers, who had divided
"into two parties, kept repeating something
"slowly; and now advanced, and joined again,
[533] "ending with universal applause. It should
"seem that this dance was considered as one
[634] "of their capital performances, if we might
"judge from some of the principal people being
"engaged in it; for one of their drums was
"beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho,
"another by Feenow, and the third, which did
"not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee
"himself, at the entrance of his hut*.

"It is with regret I mention that we could
175 "not understand what was spoken, while we
648 "were able to see what was acted in these
545 "amusements. This, doubtless, would have
"afforded us much information as to the genius

[555] [565] * It must here be noticed that it is a difficult matter to beat these drums properly, consequently it is considered a great accomplishment, and never practised by the lower orders: it must also be observed, that whenever among the dancers there are principal chiefs, as, no doubt, there were on the above occasion, the drums are always beaten by persons of the first consequence.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 578 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.

A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 183 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.

This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 681 183 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.

One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 466 461 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.

The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 565 829 571 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a) chief.

The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge: the commoners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 554 183 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that (that is) large.

Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 565 431 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.

Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 726 565 411 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows:

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa,
Kae toatoa toe tua pe.

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet.

The word *motu,* translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good-breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner.

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth.

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted.

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the reports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of things where only the truth is to be discovered.

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, therefore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua,* translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same; the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms of civil war would drive the people together for mutual protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making proclamation while reclining) meant the age of peace and plenty rather than the age of a crowded population. Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden

An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki *off Niua, May* 1616.
Vide Appendix II.
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moĕmoĕ*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

/See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

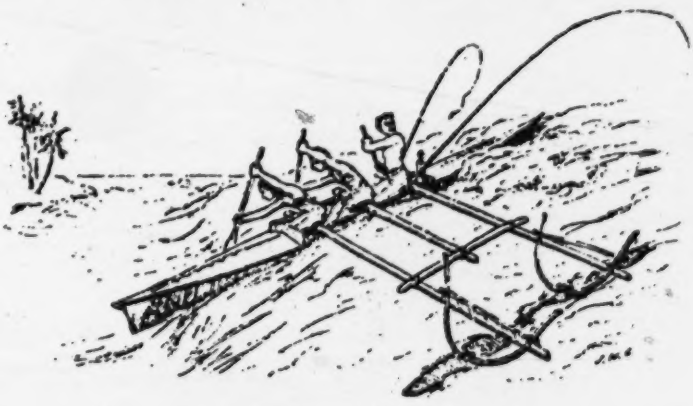
14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

to his object. Tubou Niua, as Governor of Vavau, had become very popular with his people. He was of a brave and open character, little fitted to cope with the cunning of his inveterate enemy, who lost no opportunity of poisoning Finau's mind against him. He was, he said, plotting a rebellion against Finau's authority, and he habitually neglected to send tribute of the value due to Finau's rank and power. At last he openly proposed his assassination; and Finau, never deaf to any proposal that would advance his own interests, even at the cost of the treacherous murder of a brother, listened to him. The murder is thus described by an eye-witness:—

One evening, about an hour before sunset, the king desired Mr Mariner to accompany him and his daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three-quarters of a mile off: he was going, he said, to consult an old chief, Toki-ae-moana, who resided there, upon some political business. Finau usually carried with him a large whaling-knife (the blade of which was 2 feet long and 3 inches wide). Mr Mariner, observing on this occasion that he did not take his knife, asked him if he should take it, and carry it for him: he replied, "No, I have no need of it." Mr Mariner obeyed, and followed him and his daughter unarmed. In their way they came near to a pool, and Finau stepped aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant to Tubou Niua to desire him to come to him. By the time he had done bathing Tubou Niua arrived, and all four pursued their walk to the old chief's house, where, when they arrived, the two chiefs and Finau's daughter entered the inside fencing, while Mr Mariner went into a house within the outside fencing, and remained in conversation with a female attendant of Finau's daughter. They had not been long here before Tubou-toa came in, and shortly after went out again. There entered soon after four men belonging to him, who immediately began to take down the sail, mast, and spars

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

with fish in a seaway as he; none was his match in a fight to the death. During one of the annual attacks upon Tonga, he had left his comrades near the canoe, and had gone a little way from the shore. Suddenly he found himself, armed with only a Fijian throwing-club, face to face with five assailants, who had lain in ambush for him. His followers were too far off for his voice to reach them, and he knew that against their long spears his throwing-club could avail him little. He turned and ran before them, keeping just out of reach of their weapons, leading



A tafaanga *in the surf.*

them inland towards a place that he knew of where the soil gave place to jagged limestone rocks. Little distressed himself, he ran on until he knew by their labouring breath that his pursuers had begun to tail off. This was his opportunity. He turned and met the leading man, and struck him down before he could recover from his surprise. Seizing the spear that dropped from his hand, he fell upon the second and third, who, gasping for

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 ing-gear.] As they departed from us they set their course
177 towards the south-east, in the hopes of picking up some of the others, who were good swimmers.

On the 10*th* the wind was S.S.-easterly, veering from S.E. to S. The course was W. and S.W.; and in the morning, after breakfast, we saw [on the horizon?] some very high and blue-looking land lying between S.E. and S., about eight miles from us. We sailed all day towards it with a light air, but were unable to get within reach, so stood off and on for the night; and towards evening we saw a sail a good way out off the land, and shortly after another one, which we took to be fishing craft, because they put to sea at night time and used torches.

On the 11*th* we arrived by mid-day at an island which was
133 very high; and about two miles beyond it we saw another island, long and low. During the day we sailed over a bank with fourteen fathoms water on it, rocky bottom, lying about two miles off the land. As soon as we had passed over it we were unable again to get soundings. We anchored in twenty-five fathoms, sandy bottom, a long shot from the shore of the farther island.

[137] The island is a high mountain, shaped nearly like one of the Moluccas, and is covered with timber, mostly cocoa-nut palms, wherefore we called it Cocos Island.

The other island is much longer, but narrower, and lies east and west. . . .

175 [Intercourse with the people followed readily, and great
177 numbers swarmed on board the ship. They traded freely, and sold 180 cocoa-nuts by evening, at the rate of 5 nuts for a few beads.]

● [411] Canoes from the other island came off to the ship. The natives had hardwood staves in their hands like assegais. They boarded our shallop, and thought to have taken it from us; but our men being thereby constrained to defend themselves, let fly three muskets among them. At first they thought this was child's play; but the third shot struck one of them in the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1616]

13*th.*—At noon we were in 36° 12′ [misprint for 16° 12′]: the wind being S.E., course W. and W. by S., fine weather. 175 177

17*th.*—Wind N.E., course W. by S., but the two last quarters we set our course W.N.W. Short of provisions.

18*th.*—In 16° 5′ we had variable westerly winds.

[On this day Schouten reviewed his position and prospects, and spoke to his crew, pointing out the shortness of food, and the impossibility of returning eastwards. The Terra Australis, of which they were in search, had not appeared, though they were 1600 miles to the westward of the coast of Peru. It remained only to steer more northerly and make for the Moluccas, braving the dangers of the New Guinea navigation, and making the best of their ill luck. The course was therefore altered to N.N.W.] 000

[Discovery of Futuna.]

19*th.*—Southerly wind. Course N. In the afternoon saw three islands to the N.E. by E., eight miles distant, and apparently a cannon-shot from each other. Made for them, sailing N.E., with fine weather, but fresh. 175 177

20*th.*—Wind N.N.E.

21*st.*—Wind easterly. When one mile from the land twenty canoes came out to us. We proffered friendliness, but one with a very sharp wooden spear in his hand threatened one of our men, and the people from the next island were shouting, as we took it, to urge them against us. Fired two cannon-shots. Sent boat out to sound, but got no bottom, eight small-arms men in her. A fight ensued, and six were killed. Stood off and on all night. [411]

22*d.*—Sent the boat in to sound again, and got anchorage in thirty-five fathoms, a gun-shot from shore. The Captain went in the boat and got a convenient place for the ship to moor in, close to a fresh-water creek inside the reef. Canoes came and brought cocoa-nuts, and *obae*, and two roast pigs. We paid them in [262]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

timber is obtained. The *toa*, or iron-wood tree, (*Casuarina equisetifolia*,) is somewhat abundant, but it is not much used by the natives, because of its excessive hardness and heaviness. Clubs and spears were made from it in former times. The large posts required for buildings are obtained from the *koka*, whose timber is very durable in the ground. It likewise affords the best firewood; and a dark liquid which exudes from its trunk, when the bark has been scraped off, is employed in stamping patterns upon the native cloth.

Some of the most stately and magnificent trees are only fit for firewood, and some not even for that. Among these may be reckoned the *orava*, a species of banyan; the *buko*, (belonging to the natural order of *Bombaceæ*,) and the *gatae*, (*Erythrina corallodendron*.) This latter tree is very commonly planted to distinguish the boundaries of land belonging to different proprietors.

Having considered, so far, the natural productions of the islands, as a whole, we shall now resume our personal narrative, by taking the reader to Vavau, where the first years of our residence were spent.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

The deliberative assemblies of the chiefs were very stately affairs. Each sat in a circle, arranged according to the rank and precedence of those who composed it, where speeches were made by the authorized orators, and by some of the leading chiefs; after which, the ceremony of kava-drinking would be proceeded with. These meetings would often extend over several hours; and every part of the proceedings was governed and conducted according to well-known and rigid laws of etiquette. From these assemblies the knowledge of new enactments, or the arrangements adopted for any projects entertained by the chiefs, was circulated among the people at large by the *Matabules*.

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the knowledge of the Tonguese, as developed in their arts, manufactures, and customs. In estimating these, however, the fact must not be overlooked, that as their land yielded no metals, and but few minerals, the resources of the islands, for the production of manufactures, were extremely limited. Indeed, it may be asserted that they carried civilization, in this point, to the full extent of their feeble means. The credit must be awarded them, of displaying no small amount of ingenuity and skill in what they produced.

The warlike weapons of the Tonguese were few and simple. They consisted of spears, javelins, and clubs, made from various kinds of hard and heavy wood, capable of taking a high polish. In their hands, these were most effective weapons. They were also very clever in the use of bows and arrows, and slings. Defensive armour was seldom employed; and great ingenuity was displayed in painting and decorating the person, in preparation for an expected contest.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 for an expected contest. The old weapons of the country have, however, been greatly supplanted, by 411 the introduction of European arms and ammuni- 177 tion; and there has been a consequent change from [725] many of the former tactics and practices of heathen [726] warfare. "Musket balls do not know chiefs," was the lament of a grey-headed old chief, as he marched past the writer to battle, with swaggering gait, and kindling eye, swinging his great club round his head as if it had been a cane, and evidently longing for a hand-to-hand encounter with some like-minded opponent. There was no little amount of truth, too, in what he repeated a few minutes afterwards, "Musket balls may do for boys, but clubs are the weapons of men." In the 702 organization of their armies, and in the tactics they [701] pursued, the Tonguese exhibited considerable skill. [725] In any war of magnitude, a universal conscription was enforced, in which none were excused from following their leaders to the field, but those incapacitated by age or bodily infirmity. All were drilled in the use of arms, and were accustomed to the practice of warlike exercises. When preparing 541 for war, a general review of troops was usually 703 held before the king, or leader, in which the intending combatants swore fealty to their commander, and pledged themselves to deeds of prowess on his behalf. This was done by each of the party rushing, with frantic energy and fierce gesticulations, in front of the chief, flourishing and then grounding his weapon: while uttering at the same time the most ridiculous and empty boasts of what the individual would do in the coming conflict. 712 The Tonguese were in the habit of constructing very complete, strong, and well-arranged fortifications,

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone who was acquainted with the general appearance of the Haapai images.

Carved Weapons of Western Polynesia.

The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked. The one positive statement that human figures occur in Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience

[11]Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917.

[12]Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

in the handling of clubs from Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji must add the greatest weight to their opinions. If the human-figure motive had been adopted by Samoan craftsmen, we would expect to find its presence in some, at least, of the numerous authenticated Samoan clubs in various museums and private collections. The absence of the human-motive is evidence that it never entered Samoan carving-technique as applied to weapons. This lack of a human-motive in Samoan club-carvings may be taken as evidence in support of the argument that the Samoan image is due to Tongan influence.

IMAGES FROM CENTRAL POLYNESIA.

In order to stress the importance of the position of the arms and some technical details in the Tongan images, a few images from central Polynesia are here figured for comparative purposes. By central Polynesia, I mean the Society islands, but I would also include for the purposes of this study, the Cook and Austral groups. The examples selected are the smaller images in wood as such are more comparable with the Tongan material.

IMAGES FROM TAHITI.

In Tahiti, the inanimate representatives of the gods were termed *to'o* (cf. Maori, *toko)* and were usually made of a twined sennit covering over a wooden core with outer decorations of red feathers. The human form was rarely used. Wooden images, termed *ti'i* (Cf. Rarotongan, *tiki)*, were used by sorcerers to represent their familiar spirits. These were of both sexes, and an example of each is here figured as, from size and material, the technique is more readily comparable with the Tongan images. See figures 8 and 9.

The Tahitian figures are not so realistic as the Tongan, and their main differences consist in the treatment of the ears, the square shoulders with the straight edge across the back, the position of the arms, the nipples instead of breasts in the female figure, the projecting abdomen and navel, and the normal treatment of the gluteal region. It is evident in the two Tahitian figures that sex is indicated by the inclusion of the sex-organ, and the female breasts are not any more developed than the male. In the Tongan figures, the sex is indicated by the size of the breasts and the sex-organ is ignored.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 97-152 not processed]

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

The original label that went with the sitting image reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga, the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash or a perineal band *(malo)*. As specimens of cloth of authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type specimens for future study, a drawing made from Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, *a*.

Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated triangular projections which correspond in position and shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion that this conventionalized motive has been derived from the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

27: Black D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 531 that these clubs illustrate types that were used in Lifuka, the locality with which the images are definitely associated. See fig. 5, *b* and *c*.

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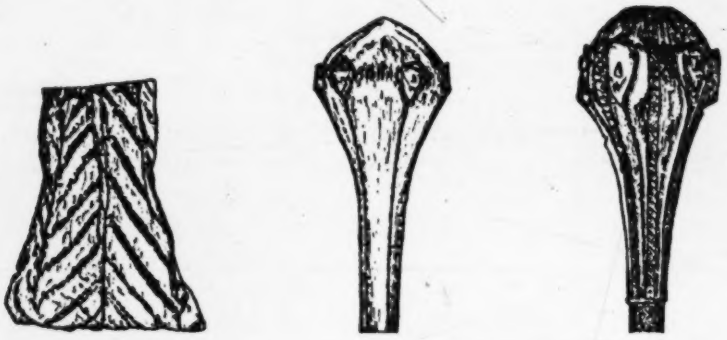

a b c

FIG. 5.

TONGAN CLOTH AND CLUBS

a—Tongan bark cloth: period of 1830 before foreign influence affected native patterns; oblique parallel lines forming long chevrons. *b*—Tongan club with expanded head showing bosses in form of face and nose, similar to those of wooden images in figs. 1 and 2. *c*—Tongan club similar to *b* but with raised zig-zag vertical lines between the bosses.

TYPE-SPECIMENS

127 Anthropology in the branch of material culture has certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages exist in the fact that artifacts now no longer obtainable in their country of origin have been preserved in museums and private collections. The disadvantages are that many valuable specimens, after passing through various hands, have become inaccurately labelled as to locality and, furthermore, that owing to their not having been described in anthropological literature, they are inaccessible to the student who cannot make a tour of the world's museums and private collections.

In order to promote accurate study by students and correct identification by museum authorities, it is necessary in the cause of science that really old artifacts, of which the history and locality have been accurately determined, should be recorded in the literature as type-specimens. Once

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right.

MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it.

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other statements it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of supernatural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of Maealiuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maealiuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

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Capable of inflicting instant death, this splendidly-designed throwing club is reminiscent of dauntless warriors in Tonga's past. Since warfare in the past was mainly carried out at close range on a man-to-man basis, Tongan weaponry consisted mostly of spears, bows and arrows, and clubs. When thrown, the heavily weighted head of a throwing club such as the one pictured here reversed and gave tremendous impact to the blow. Measuring about fourteen inches in length, this Tongan club is preserved today at the Palace Office in Nuku'alofa.

Lavanoa ke tamate'i 'aki ha taha. Ko e taha eni e ngaahi povai na'e fai 'aki e tau 'a e kau Tonga he taimi ko e. Na'a nau lahilahi ngaue'aki pe 'a e tao, ngahau mo e povai. Na'e 'iloa foki e poto mo e to'a 'a e kau Tonga 'i he mala'e tau. Na'e fu'u fakatu'utamaki 'aupito foki hono ngaue'aki e ngaahi povai hange ko ia 'oku ha heni. Ko e povai ko 'eni 'oku tauhi ia 'i he 'ofisi Palasi, Nuku'alofa.

[p.9-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 nearby Samoa, was an oval structure with roof
283 thatching made from sugar cane leaves or coconut
284 fronds, and with exquisite sennit lashing on the inside rafters. Tongan clubs were characterized by
B 411 skillfully-incised, geometric surface patterns, at
531 times by inlaid pieces of pearl shell or whale's tooth,
237 and occasionally by designs depicting animals (zoomorphs) or humans (anthropomorphs); these decorations were sometimes applied over a period of time, certain bits of ornamentation being added in commemoration of a particular battle victory.[A2]
532 Carved statues, which were used to a minor degree as representations of deities, were usually wooden and female, with a rounded, stout body and an oversized head. The few, excellent ivory statue carvings from Ha'apai preserved today in museums are considered to be among the finest creative art pieces in the history of the Pacific.[B3]

[p. 10-A]

A [See category 411, pp. 9A, 10B and 11--Analyst]

B [See category 532, p. 8--Analyst]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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[for caption see p. 41]

[p 108]

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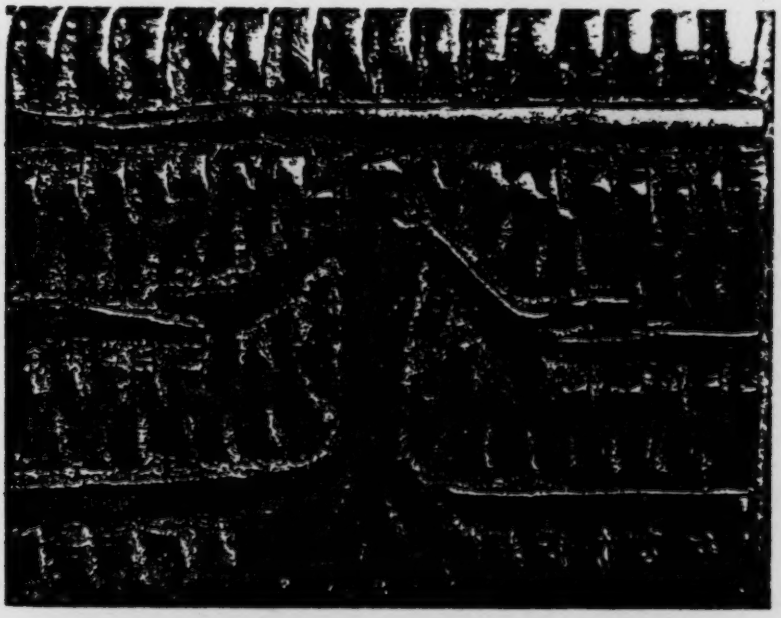

Early Tongan warriors sometimes gave names to their war clubs. The heavy, four foot long club at left is a carved replacement for the actual one, named *Mohekonokono* ("Bitter Sleep"), which was owned by the chief Vaha'i from the village of Fo'ui (western Tongatapu) and was broken during Tonga's civil war (1799-1852). The photo above shows a close-up of another exquisitely carved war club. Both are preserved today at Tupou College Museum.

[217]

Na'e fa'a fakahingoa e ngaahi povai 'a e kau tau Tonga 'o ono'aho. 'Oku 'asi 'i he ta 'i to'ohema na tatau 'o e povai ko Mohekonokono 'a ia na'e ngaue'aki 'e he to'a ko Vaha'i mei Fo'ui. Na'e motu foki e povai ko ia lolotonga e tau fakalotofonua mei he 1799 ki he 1852. Ko e fa'ahinga povai e 'e taha 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga 'a ia kuo 'osi hono tongi teuteu faka'ofo'ofa. 'Oku tauhi e ongo povai ni 'i he Misiume 'a Toloa.

[For remainder of club at left, see p. 10-B]

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A neatly-fashioned weapon, blackened skin, necklace of sharks' teeth, and a turban, symbolic of defiance and self-confidence in the face of the enemy, comprise this Tongan's war costume (1827).

'Oku ha lolei hemi ai e fa'ahinga teunga 'o ha tangata tau 'i ono'aho. 'Oku ai e tui ko e ma'u mei he kau Fisi 'a e valivali 'uli'uli e kili. Ko e kahoa na'e ngaohi ia mei he nifo'i 'anga.

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To partake of the "harvest of the sea," early Tongan fishermen used lures and hooks (such as these) made from turtle shell, whale ivory, and mother-of-pearl shell. These old fishhooks belonged many years ago to Siosiua "Niukapu" Palefau from Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, and are preserved today as artifacts by his great-great-granddaughter, Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

Na'e ngaue'aki 'e he kau toutai 'o ono'aho ha ngaahi mata'u na'e fa'u mei he 'uno 'o e fonu, hui'i tofua'a pe nga'esi fingota. Ko e ongo mata'u ko eni na'e ngaue'aki fuoloa ia 'e Niukapu (Siosiua Palefau) mei Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, pea 'oku kei tauhi ia he 'aho ni 'e hono mokopuna tolu ko Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood carving had been done previously with adzes or tools made of shell or tooth, local artisans became attracted to the more highly perfected metal instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced by materialism and other characteristics of western civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of their former artistic activities, and consequently, the entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making, basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the present day in Tonga.[7]

Tongan architecture has obviously been influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan houses today with corrugated iron roofs. Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been

[p.16-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 replaced by more modern means of warfare and transportation.

501 177 177 Of course, the coming of the westerners should not be seen only in a negative light, for with western civilization came the written word, the establishment of an educational system, and the opportunities (and challenges) for Tonga to keep up with trends in world affairs in order to maintain her independence and honor as a nation. Hopefully, in time, Tonga will experience a revival of the elements of creativity and aesthetic activity which have been gravely stifled by the encroaching technological world for the past two centuries. Such an artistic renaissance, in stimulating creative instincts and in bringing to life latent talent and artistic energy, would serve to reaffirm Tonga's cultural pride and self-respect in our rapidly changing and synthesizing world.

[p.16-B]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.

Tillage The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig, they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

War and Weapons The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Ornamenting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

Goverment Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*, acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.

[2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.

[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirid or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated, in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior to their Kings.

SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many miles.

MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

which causes that universal and continual spring found here. It has I believe been alledg'd by some that the vicissitude of the seasons in more boisterous regions, as being more sensible and compleat, contributes much to the happiness of their inhabitants though I think it is hard to conceive how this is effected. If there is a pleasure in the transition from extreme cold to moderate heat how can the reverse have the same effect? Do the methods we are obligd to take to shelter us from the weather produce any particular pleasure? or does it not rather arise after that has been accomplish'd from the thoughts of being really secur'd from its disagreeable impressions by these means? But is not the man far more happy who has that pleasure constantly secur'd to him merely from his situation, where the temperature of the climate prevents its becoming an object of his care? The superior pleasure felt at the return of our spring has been urg'd as a circumstance not to be experienc'd in countrys where there is a continual one; but not to reply that people in such countrys can at least never suffer from the want of a thing they have never known, I am doubtfull whether the doctrine of objects losing their power of giving pleasure when too familiar extends to this article—at least I have never felt a wish to see the continual spring in these places blasted, to exchange the exquisite serenity of the weather when it is fine for the uncertain sunshine of perhaps half a day, or to give up the usual mildness of the mornings and evenings for the pleasure of looking at a hoar frost, or being under the necessity of sitting by a fire to procure that comfort which nature herself denies. The moon shine nights are uncommonly fine.

The basis of the island as far as we know is entirely a Coral rock, which is the only sort that presents itself on the shore, nor did we see the least appearance of any other stone except a few small blue pebbles strew'd about the Fya'tockas, and the smooth solid black stone something like the Lapis Lydius[1] of which the natives make their hatchets & may probably be found only in other islands, as a piece of slatey iron colourd stone was bought at one of them which was never seen here. Though the Coral projects in many places above the surface the soil is in general of a considerable depth. In all cultivated places it is commonly of a loose black colour produc'd seemingly in a great measure from the rotten vegetables that are planted there, underneath which is very probably a clayey stratum, as a soil of that kind is often seen both on low and rising grounds but especially in several places towards the shore where it is of any

[1] It would be the basalt found on, for instance, Tofua. 'Lapis Lydius' is a basanite, a velvet-black quartz.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tôâ tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

526 begins; the Combat is sometimes long & often bloody, especially when two Veterans engage, they do not fight so much with a strait Arm as we do, but frequently wheel round & in such revolution give their antagonists most severe blows; they keep an excellent guard, & are upon the whole allowed to be very skilful Boxers by those who are the best judges of this Broughtonian[1] amusement, they are cool and deliberate from the great Command they have over their Passions. When a man finds himself fairly beat, he resigns his Claim to the laurel with perfect good Humour & most frequently goes away laughing at his own defeat. The Conqueror retires repeating the
526 Challenge & is received by his Party with the Song of Victory. These
565 Exercises are held in great Esteem among them, the Children are
[868] brought up in the Practice of them from their Infancy, especially the Sons of the Chiefs, a Boy of Phenows was observed to exert himself in a manner much superior to his years. However it must be remembered
526 that no Chiefs of any great Consequence entered the lists as boxers
411 or Wrestlers while we were here; the Exercises in which they engage are those of the Battle ax and Club, the former of which has been mentioned in the Transactions at Happai, the latter being so rough an Exercise we never saw put in practice, tho' a Chief well known to us & related to Powlohow came into the ring with his Club & gave a Challenge to any one by brandishing it about in the air, but no one was found to accept it, on which he laid down his club & turning round to his father paid him the usual Compliment, then took up his weapon and went out of the Circle; we were informed that he was superior to any man on the Island at this Exercise, he is a very stout young fellow, he has lost one Eye in fighting with the Club. This undoubtedly is the principal Weapon used in their Wars, they have Spears & Bows & arrows, but, the latter especially, these can be but of very little use. Some of the stoutest of our people often entered the lists to box and wrestle with them, but they always were worsted.

648 Thus were the Evenings spent after our people had done work &
685 the Market was over, & the only thing that interrupted the Harmony subsisting between us & the Natives was the frequent Thefts they committed both in the Ship and on shore; the L[t] of Marines who lay on shore on duty had his bed stole, some say from under him while he was asleep but this is rather improbable, however he lost his bed &

[1] Cf. Clerke, p. 1303 below, 'Strangers to the art of Broughtonizing'. John Broughton (1703–89), a hero of the age, 'the father of British pugilism', who exchanged his profession of Thames waterman for the nobler one of public bruiser. He instructed royalty, as well as the aristocracy and gentry, in his art, and was laid to rest in Lambeth Church beneath the lapidary inscription *Pugil sui sui praestantissimus.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.

The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs, which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.

Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1] in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried & buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here, they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement, for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting, than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the left to the Mother.[2]

[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10] But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war. Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler *Elizabeth*, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted:

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159).
[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 25 June 1833, ML, B301.
[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481.
[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838).
[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817.

70: Skinner A-5 (1965) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.(1) The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.(2) When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKern, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.

1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katoa, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[436 cont.]

175 439 237 227 171 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 439 301 [237] [824] [531] long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 285 531 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head,

171 515 415 824 were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (<u>casuarina equistifeolia</u>), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 411 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

[437 cont.]

175 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the
411 blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far
175 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns,
411 which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible
53 patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a
[412] piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished, as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.

175 Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes
411 plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's
[237] tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction. The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood. When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow; the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several

175 of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of
181 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific
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416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs
207 of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumuators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
179 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

100: Koch--509 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

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3. Tongan /male/ in everyday clothes

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4. Pounding the kava root

[End Plate 2]

reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear, from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this traditional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which most people resided within fortified structures. The war also disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded, planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main yard!" As this had been already done some short time before to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing. He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]